NATIONALISM IN A NUTSHELL..

EDWIN GILMORE RICHARDS.

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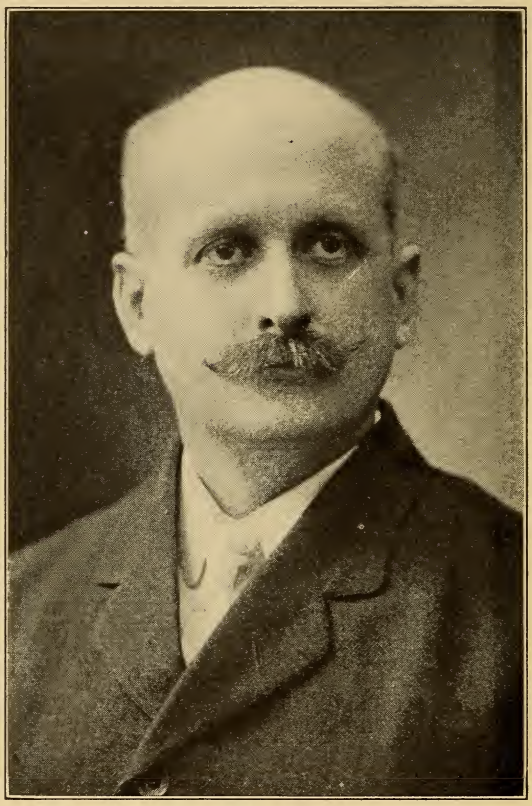

EDWIN GILMORE RICHARDS

NATIONALISM IN A NUTSHELL

OR

The Government to Be, and How to Bring It About

BY

EDWIN GILMORE RICHARDS

Author of "Nationalism" (1910)

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INTRODUCTION

THIS book is written to set forth, in condensed form, the steps required to make this nation a nation which shall be in fact, as well as in name, a government of the people, for the people and by the people; a people working together, scientifically producing and distributing all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life; a country where the distress of poverty shall be unknown and the high cost of living only a matter of history.

It does not show up the filth and the mire and then leave the problem unsettled, nor does it proclaim an individual-be-good remedy or a tax-them-into-goodness policy. Neither does it make great claims for certain actions, leaving the reader in the dark regarding the missing links, but gives sufficient details so that to read is to understand and to reason is to be convinced.

In spite of the fact that there are those who see only class against class and ridicule any effort to win other than so-called wage earners, this book is

written to all the people, as was "Nationalism" (1910).

It is radical and evolutionary, yet there are those who think it extremely mild. It is no dream, but instead is axiomatic, scientific, mathematical. Its claims are necessary consequences of the proposed actions.

It does not claim to make angels out of human beings, but it does claim that man, as a rule, will be better morally, physically and spiritually, and that all may have abundance.

Socialism? Yes, according to my idea of Socialism; possibly not, according to the ideas of all Socialists. One might object because it appeals to "all the people," another to my plan of purchasing the railroads, mines, etc., instead of confiscation, and still another to the graded wage; nevertheless, I have received words of praise and congratulation from leading Socialists, one of them writing concerning "Nationalism" (1910): "It is beautifully printed, charmingly written and full of wisdom."

As far as I am able to see, there is no difference in the final outcome. While the word "Nationalism" might suggest narrowness, the thought encircles the globe, but I feel we must work it out on a small scale; still it must be national.

I might liken "Nationalism" to the sugar-

coated pill which cures the disease without the unpleasant taste. The effect at the end may be the same as that of the bitter-tasting one, but why agonize in the meanwhile?

Take the matter of the purchase of the railroads versus confiscation: I agree that if all the plans of the Socialists could be put into operation at once, there would be no injustice. But every Socialist admits it will take years. So that, to confiscate either directly, or indirectly by establishing competing lines, express routes, parcel post, etc., and not establishing the plans for employment, pension or insurance, and distribution, for years, would be an injustice.

I am informed that the parcel post has already been responsible for great losses and some suicides. It is not right or wise, where men have spent years in building up a business at great cost, according to the laws and customs, for the government so to change its laws and methods as to ruin these men. It is wise to make the changes, but they should be made in such a manner as not to injure any one.

It may be said that our present system of doing business is confiscation, that all competition leads to confiscation, that the trusts and small capitalists and even the common laborers have always practiced this, and that it is not so bad for the govern-

ment, with the public good in view, to do likewise. But there is no need of it, nothing to be gained by it, and by the method proposed herewith it is self-evident there would be no injustice though it took years to establish the balance of the system.

The man of small means would lose nothing, and the multi-millionaire would still have "money to burn," though, if the graded tax was fully applied, his wealth would be greatly reduced, as far as figures go, and he would cease to draw interest, profit and rent from the poor and middle classes.

Wealth would in future be acquired only by service given to others, not taken from others by schemes, without service. Money would then represent so much service rendered and not taken up, while to-day it means so much taken up and there are grave doubts about the service having been rendered.

While we would establish public ownership in much land and in many tools, factories and dwelling houses, we would have nothing taken from the individual which was essential to his well-being, and nothing without just compensation. Neither do we expect government ownership of all land, tools, etc.

The book presents the solution of many of the great social problems of to-day: the poverty question, the white slave trade, the slum, the problem

of intemperance, the trusts, the high cost of living, the middleman, the unemployed, the criminal, the divorce problem, and the great handicaps which hinder individual regeneration.

Part I was prepared as an address under the title, "Our Individual and National Well-Being."

Part II consists of answers to questions which are often asked concerning "Nationalism" or "Socialism."

NATIONALISM IN A NUTSHELL

PART I

Our Individual and National Well-Being

We may not realize the extent to which our individual well-being is dependent upon our national, nor what part the degradation of the other fellow plays in our own life. These things come to us by such roundabout ways that we are unable to trace any connection.

Can it be nothing to us that one-tenth of all those who die in New York City are buried at public expense, in a pauper's grave? Is it nothing to us that crime flourishes in, and is to a large extent the result of, poverty, or that the birth and death rates are enormous in the slums?

A great war, the bullet of the assassin, the strike and the riot, an assault or a burglary, may sometimes drive a little of the truth home, but it must be something of a startling nature.

I would therefore, briefly, call your attention to what some who have been on the spot say regarding these things.

Mr. Robert Hunter writes in "Poverty":

"The evils of poverty are not barren, but procreative, and the workers in poverty are, in spite of themselves, giving to the world a litter of miserables, whose degeneracy is so stubborn and fixed that reclamation is almost impossible, especially when the only process of reclamation must consist of trying to force the pauper, vagrant, and weakling back into that struggle with poverty which is all the time defeating stronger and better natures than theirs."

Again he writes:

"I am at a loss to understand why well-known and generally recognized poverty-breeding conditions, which are both unjust and unnecessary, are tolerated for an instant among a humane, not to say a professedly Christian people."

"Poverty is not (always) the lack of things, it is the fear and dread of want."

"To live miserable we know not why, to have the dread of hunger, to work sore and to gain nothing,—this is the essence of poverty."

"To thousands and thousands of workmen the dread of public pauperism is the agony of their lives.

The mass of workingmen on the brink of poverty hate charity."

"When the poor face the necessity of becoming paupers, when they must apply to charity if they are to live at all, they desert their families and enter the ranks of vagrancy; others drink themselves insensible; some go insane; and still others commit suicide."

"To continue in poverty for any long period means in the end the loss of the power of doing work, and to be unable to do work, means in the end, pauperism."

"Serfs and slaves were given at least enough to keep them physically well, but the present-day society has ignored the wisdom of this fair provision."

Mr. Hunter quotes from Mr. John Hobson:

"Modern life has no more tragical figure than the gaunt, hungry laborer wading about the crowded centers of industry and wealth, begging in vain for permission to share in that industry and contribute to that wealth, asking in return, not the comforts and luxuries of civilized life, but the rough food and shelter for himself and family, which would be practically secured to him in the rudest form of savage life."

Mr. Hunter continues:

"We are perhaps too prone to think of those in

poverty as effortless beings, who make no fight for themselves and wait in misery until someone comes to assist them. Such an opinion is without any foundation."

"The poor in a broader sense of the word were busily at work and trying rather to conceal than to make evidence of their poverty."

"It is true that the beggar is more satisfied and content with the life of a vagrant than with the miserable lot of an unskilled, underpaid workman."

"In so far as the work of the charitable is devoted to reclamation and not to prevention, *it is a failure.*"

"It is a hopeless task to regenerate the degenerate, especially when if the latter are to succeed, they must be made to again take up the battle with those very destructive forces which are all the time undermining stronger, more capable, and more self-reliant men than they."

"The all-necessary work to be done is not so much to reclaim a class which social forces are ever active in producing, as it is to battle with the social and economic forces which are continuously producing recruits to that class."

Miriam Finn Scott begins an article in *Everybody's Magazine:*

"It is not a pleasant place to live, at the bottom,

but millions of people in this broad rich America live there. They are honest and hard working, save for a comparative few. And yet, despite all their desperate struggling they have not been able to crawl up out of the dark pit of life.

"The pit is always full.

"These pit-dwellers do not advertise their hardships; they fight their battles silently, behind closed doors."

Now I realize that I am not talking to those at the bottom, and many of us have our own problems, and are interested in our own high cost of living, in our own individual well-being.

While we may not suffer as those at the bottom, we are truly paying a high price. It is not merely a matter of dollars and cents. We pay in overwork, in worry, in paralyzed human affections, in undeveloped minds and hearts. We are bound down by a yoke which is not easy and a burden which is not light. And while it may not be one of our own creating, it is one of our own preserving to such extent as we neglect opportunities to inform ourselves and spread such knowledge as we may acquire.

We may be above the line of abject poverty, but are we above the fear of it? There is not a day but many who considered themselves well-to-do find

they are without money, without the means of support. We are never sure that, without warning, we may be dragged into the abyss.

In the same magazine, one of our millionaires, Mr. Thomas W. Lawson, says:

"The United States is the most prosperous nation on the earth, but in the United States the very rich are few, comparatively few—the poor many. Ten thousand of the first and ninety-nine million, nine hundred ninety thousand of the last. The very few are continually growing richer and the many poorer.

"The people know that the vast wealth which was theirs, and should be theirs, is being used by the few to enslave the many."

The awfulness of these things has impressed many people from time to time, and they have asked: Is it necessary? Can it be changed? If so, how?

As they ponder and investigate, some one of the many causes of our past and present disorders looms up before them. The enormity of even this one staggers and blinds them. They are convinced they have found the source of the whole trouble, while in truth they have discovered only one of many contributories. To one it may be the tariff, to another the middleman, or the trusts or the stock exchange with its watered stocks, or perhaps the individual ownership of and speculation in land.

It is little wonder that one is overwhelmed and believes he has found the cause and a remedy. Nevertheless, if we can keep our minds clear and eyes open, we shall find that to correct one of these evils would have an effect equal to that of removing a corn from the toe of a man afflicted with rheumatism, expecting the operation to cure the rheumatism.

This I have tried to do, and to get at the bottom of things. I have listened to specialists on single tax and on watered stocks. I have read this and that plan, and I feel positive that every one of them, save Socialism, will tend only to prolong the agony. The fact that the individual ownership of land in large quantities is unjust does not prove that single tax will settle even the land problem, to say nothing of a thousand other problems. And while the stopping of stock-watering is very commendable and would be of great benefit in some ways, rich drones would even then be drawing from the workers, and we would be but touching the disease.

Comparatively few have any realization of the wonderful possibilities of this world and country. Even religions, as a general thing, have expostulated on past miracles and heaven after death. They have had very little vision of "a land flowing with milk and honey" here and now. They see the giants

as in the olden time, and fear to go up and take possession.

May we have a vision of the "promised land," a realization of abundance, and start with the idea that it was made for all, that it must be for all, the weak as well as the strong, and that it is only just and right that all should enjoy their birthright.

When I speak of the high cost of living I speak of it in a broad sense. Anything that does not give to the people the fullest returns for the effort expended, is high cost of living.

CAUSES OF POVERTY AND HIGH COST OF LIVING

Among the many causes of poverty and the high cost of living we find a lack of oneness of purpose, chaotic effort, unorganized work, an everybody-for-himself policy. All over the earth, the brainiest men are thinking and planning, not how to render service but how to win out, how to make money. The energy of thousands is wasted in this manner. If all this brain power could be directed into right channels, into study of cooperative production and distribution, and education along such lines, who can estimate the wonderful results that would follow?

This everybody-for-himself policy leads to the strong taking advantage of the weak and permits them to do so and, in many cases, this strength lies in the mere inheritance of wealth, which wealth is used to bind even heavier burdens on the unfortunate.

Every possible means is used by these financiers, as they are called. They create trusts, obtain special privileges, take from the people, for no service, many times that which they themselves are able to

use, in spite of all their extravagance. So that with millions starving, and other millions in sore distress, and still others in growing fear of want, they gather to themselves enormous fortunes and by so doing stop the normal production and distribution of the products of labor.

The capitalist and his system have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, and his power and opportunity must be taken from him and used by all the people for all the people. In this we have a system of a nation for a nation and by a nation; hence, "Nationalism."

By this system we dispose of all the other causes which have been advanced as the cause of our troubles: Trusts, watered stocks, middlemen, interest, and the great land problem; and eventually that other great cause of poverty and the high cost of living—intemperance.

WHAT NATIONALISM STANDS FOR

NATIONALISM, as I use the word, stands for the national ownership and operation of all things necessary for the well-being of the people. But this does not mean that all shall necessarily be direct employees of the Government. Business wherein large amounts of capital are necessary, which are now run by trusts and large corporations, such as telephones, telegraphs, railroads, express routes, mines, etc., will, very likely, be monopolized, because of the large amount of capital required.

The foolish laws to prevent combines, which are now being enacted, will be unnecessary when Nationalism is fully established, because the right or minimum price will be established by the nation, and those who serve independently will be obliged to render equal or better service, at as low a price, by that law of competition which they clamor for so much.

Nationalism is for the public ownership of the saloon and the brewery (if they are to continue), that there shall be no temptation to sell inferior liquors or to increase the business.

It stands for the abolition of our present money system and the substitution of the credit system, as explained later.

It stands for the national ownership of railroads, express routes, telegraphs and telephones and such land as may be desired for any purpose, either for mining, traffic, factory sites, storehouses, or for agricultural purposes, as well as for loaning or leasing with or without buildings, to individuals for homes. It stands for the national ownership of patents, that the benefits may go to all the people, and for direct payment to the inventor, either in annual payments or in a lump sum, that men may be encouraged to invent.

We hold that the Government should raise and manufacture all things that are needed by the people and should establish means of selling and delivering them to the people, that there shall be no waste in the production, manufacture or distribution of the same, and that the people shall be sure of what they are buying and not be urged to buy what they do not need.

We hold that the Government should furnish employment to all citizens who apply, paying according to fitness and the demand for the particular position; due consideration being taken of danger, etc.

We hold that the minimum and maximum wages

should be drawn more closely together, though we do not recommend absolute equality of wage, and that the maximum wage be as open to competition as is the minimum.

We hold that a universal system of insurance and pension should be established, so that the fear of poverty in old age may be banished from the mind and that this protection shall come not as charity but as so much due.

THE CURRENCY SYSTEM

One of the greatest drawbacks to government ownership has always been the financing of the proposition. And it has been urged that it would be impossible to raise the money for the undertaking.

For that reason I propose to take up that great essential for the success of the proposition and for the well-being and prosperity of the people.

It has been said that "the love of money is the root of all evil." As truly might it be said that our present currency system is the invention of an evil one. For it is the system that has led to the "love of money" and it is the system that has led men to defraud, that has led to our "frenzied finance." It is the system that has caused poverty and driven men to drink, that has caused the downfall of both boys and girls. Millions have gone to an earthly hell, not for the love of money but for the lack of it, and the system was and is the direct cause of this lack of money. It has deprived of the privilege of doing so those who were willing to work. It keeps a just wage from those who do work and gives abundance to those who neither work nor render any service whatever.

There may or may not be unique features in this currency system, but its application to Nationalism is certainly essential.

In order that I may make this proposition perfectly clear, I will first use an illustration, but bear in mind that it is only an illustration, and that we shall soon advance to the real currency system.

We will therefore consider that the nation shall establish ledgers of account in the various sections of the country, and that each individual shall have an account on one of these ledgers.

Any service he may render, or anything he may sell to the nation, shall be credited on his account. On the other hand, any service that may be rendered to him or any goods that may be sold to him by the nation shall be charged to his account.

If the Government desires to purchase land, railroads, factories or anything else, it would credit the owner with the amount of the purchase price, whether his holdings were in the form of shares or in direct ownership. The individual might draw an order or check on his account, which he could use in his dealings with others.

It is plain that by this method the Government would have no interest to pay, no bonds to sell, no capitalist to consult, no need to waste time or wealth buying and storing gold and silver. So we may start

any good undertaking as quickly as we may desire, provided we have the men to do the work. We may buy land for building purposes or for raising crops or for mining. We may buy or build railroads, factories, stores or storehouses.

To-day business is dependent upon the whims of the moneyed people, or the confidence of investors, and it matters not how many of the community may desire a thing or whether there is an abundance of workers to perform the task.

For example: we have been waiting and hoping for electric power service on the New Haven railroad between Boston and Providence; yet, although we may be unanimous in our desire, and although there may be two laborers for every one who would be required, the work cannot go forward until such time as money can be advanced by certain other people. In fact, our money system is a contrivance to keep the nation and the people under the power of the few rich. So men go without work and patrons without improvements and safeguards, when, with proper government ownership, including this proposed currency system, all good things could be pushed forward as fast as laborers could do the work.

I trust I have made this ledger illustration serve its purpose, and have shown the possibility of a cor-

rect record without dependence upon capitalists and without being subject to interest charges.

We will now advance to the proposed currency system or medium of exchange, which shall perform exactly the same office as that of the ledgers; and at the same time have all the conveniences of our present-day money, without its drawbacks.

In place of the ledgers we would have the Government issue credit certificates made in the same manner, form and general appearance as our bank notes or gold and silver certificates of to-day, and in similar denominations. The only difference would be in the wording, which would state that the United States guaranteed the certificates.

It will be seen that in the ledger example, the expense would be only for the cost of the books and the bookkeepers, while in the use of the certificates we would have the cost of the paper and the printing and would save the cost of the bookkeepers.

In addition to these certificates, simply for convenience in handling, we would have coins as at present; pennies, nickels, 25-cent-pieces: nothing larger would be needed. Dimes and half-dollars might be made if thought best.

We would then have established a currency system, a medium of exchange, a record-of-service system which would be inexpensive, interchangeable,

and as unlimited as the leaves on an unlimited number of ledgers. It might be used precisely as our money to-day, deposited in government banks and checked out as desired, in which case we would of course have ledgers in actual use, in addition to the currency, as we do to-day, the only difference being that we would have the word and the resources of the whole nation back of it instead of those of a single bank or trust company.

This currency would be loaned by the nation, on good security, the same as by the banks to-day, except that the rates would be lower; perhaps in some cases there would be no interest charges at all.

The United States is at this time adopting a currency system which may be easily worked into the one I am proposing. It is, in fact, fiat money—certificates of credit; and it is proposed to loan these certificates to banks at a low rate of interest, but the banks can reloan at a much higher rate.

Our bankers and financiers manipulate all laws so that measures supposed to be for the people work out to their own advantage. Even the postal savings-bank is so used, the Government standing the expense of collecting the money, guaranteeing the principal and the interest, and then turning it over to the banks at less than cost, but the banks can use it to make great gains. For this reason I place no reli-

ance upon the experiment, but it is good to see it as evolutionary, a stepping-stone to the real thing.

Certainly if it is sound business policy to loan on notes, it is more so to receive the full value in labor, land or any other good thing. And on the other hand, if fiat money is good under our present system, it will be very much better when the frenzied financier is extinct.

Gold as money or as a standard of value, is idiotic, barbaric, expensive and a large factor in the high cost of living. Money is to-day, and by right ought to be, legal currency by the act and guarantee of the Government. Limited currency means unemployment, which means poverty, pauperism, vagrancy, crime, murder and suicide.

The capitalists have made no great howl about this fiat money, and I have no doubt they intend to work it for all it is worth, that they may add to their own wealth. They will try to make it a failure if they think it is for their interest to do so. We can therefore tell absolutely nothing as to whether it is good or bad by the results which will appear. Its value lies in its adaptation to Nationalism. Of course the capitalists will object to anything that will take away their power of exacting profits, rent and interest. Wealth, in the future, will be the real service-renderers, which will include

both mental and manual laborers. Individuals as holders of land, houses and tools have proved themselves totally unfit for the trust.

These fellows who are always harping about gold as a standard and of the necessity of gold back of our paper money, and sneering about fiat money, remind me of the story of "Pat." Pat had all his wealth in the local savings-bank. Having heard the rumor that the bank had failed, he rushed to the bank and demanded his money. But upon being handed his balance in full, stood aghast, and after a moment blurted out: "Begorra, if I can get it, I don't want it." Now this is exactly what these fellows would do if they were paid off in gold. They would rush to the bank, deposit the gold and take a credit slip. If they can get it they don't want it. And what is the certainty of even the best bank compared with the nation, which includes not only that bank, but all the rest of the banks, and all the land within its borders, and which, if necessity required, could levy on the full wealth of all? There could be nothing more sound.

On the other hand, gold is not sound; its value as a medium of exchange is purely psychological, all in the mind. The moment people get this fact into their heads, gold will greatly depreciate. Gold is good only when it can be palmed off on somebody

else for something of real value—grain, tea, sugar, houses, etc. Yet we spend valuable time digging it, and in building storehouses and vaults for it.

The one great drawback in New Zealand has been its currency system. But in spite of that they are far ahead of other countries because they have adopted some of the principles of Socialism, and their prominent thought is the well-being of the people. One of the results of this is that the death rate of children is less than that of any other country in the world.

It is interesting to find that experiments in New Zealand tend to show the correctness of claims and recommendations printed years ago, whereby I declared against single-tax methods, and in favor of the taking of land for those who would use it, by the right of eminent domain. In New Zealand they tried the former, with no improvement, and then adopted the latter with great success.

THE STEPS THAT WOULD FOLLOW

The steps that would follow the adoption of the currency system can hardly be arranged in one-two-three order. As rapidly as possible the nation should buy the telephones, telegraphs, railroads, stores, storehouses, mines, land, etc. It is very probable that some of this work will be done very soon as it is; if so, the Government should, upon the adoption of the currency system, immediately take up all bonds which were given in the purchase thereof, as well as all other bonds which might be outstanding. This would immediately stop interest on all these outstanding bonds and debts, including Panama bonds and war debts.

The Government should establish insurance and pension systems; also its chain of employment bureaus, which will have the whole employment situation before it, keeping the perfect balance of production, distribution and employment. It should buy food already produced and start producing more. In fact it should enter every field whereby it might render service, either by furnishing em-

ployment or reducing the cost or improving the quality.

One of my single-tax friends asked me what I would do first, if I had the bringing in of Nationalism. Understanding his singleness of thought, which would reform all things with a single stroke, I replied: I would feed the people. We would not expect a horse to work until he was well-fed and in good condition. This would not only be the right thing to do, but would also be good business policy. The poor would begin to realize that at last a change had been made, would take courage, become enthusiastic and patriotic.

Some will, of course, say these people would lie down and wait to be fed. We are not proposing a continuance of this feeding proposition to people who are able, except they render service. But we do propose that no one shall be obliged to ask twice for a job.

We fully realize that many are so affected with degeneracy that they will never become very efficient, and probably will always be more or less of a burden. But it has been our system, to a large extent, which has produced them and we must bear the results of our errors.

Great as is our currency system, it is but a means to an end, and that end is the just distribution of

wealth, and of the opportunity to take part in that production. National production and distribution is not the difficult proposition the capitalists would have us believe and the greatest difficulties will be those deliberately planned by them. The proposition will be much easier than the large corporation problem to-day. They have dividends to pay and profits to make, they have more or less competition and also advertising; all of which the Government will not have, although it will have descriptive literature.

Nationalism is, in a way, competition, but it is the right kind, not the kind that lifts itself up while pushing the other fellow down. Instead of that, while trying to attain the highest efficiency as a government, it will, at the same time, assist any who prefer to work independently, selling to them at the lowest figure and giving them full price for their products, but they must be real links and must run their part efficiently in order to succeed.

As the Government establishes stores, other stores will be obliged to meet Government prices. So it will be with the production of corn, wheat, oats, cattle, sheep, etc. The matter will work itself out to the best advantage of all. It may be that all will prefer to work for the Government directly.

The attitude should be one of mutual helpfulness with no attempt to hinder any one in any way.

Of course the Government will establish a complete equipment for slaughtering, shipping and storing all kinds of meats, as well as for the raising of all kinds of fruit, etc.

All these things go to establish the lowest cost to the consumer and the highest wage to the worker. Not only will we have the watchword "Safety First," but another fully as important—"Well-Being of All Paramount." And the capitalists will have the privilege of showing their oft-claimed superiority of business management, against a worthy competitor.

THE RAILROAD PROBLEM

MUCH might be said on this subject, but many of the points have been discussed and are well understood.

Aside from such control as the Government is undertaking, the railroads are under the management of directors, many of whom are directors in other railroads, banks, mining companies and other corporations. Some of these directors have admitted that in the hands of bad men such control might be dangerous.

Now it is very uncertain what even good men will do in these matters, for standards differ all the way from that of Jesus, which was "Let him that hath two coats give to him that hath none," to that of the fellows who think it is all right to have a billion "if one gets it honestly."

Now that Mr. Mellen is out of the railroad business, he says, with truth, that no man in the railroad business earns $25,000 per year, and he has also made it quite plain that the reason why railroad managers get large salaries is because they can be

worked to work the public, not because of their efficiency in giving service to the public.

Even from the stockholders' standpoint, we find they are not sure to get even the principal back, to say nothing of the uncertainty of dividends. During the last few years we find New Haven stock sold as high as $255 and as low as $50, with others nearly as bad. It will be seen that one who bought at the high price and who might through fear or necessity sell at the low would lose more of the principal than the dividends would amount to in twenty years.

The advantages which would come through government ownership, such as greater safety, shorter hours, better service, and ability to finance, are generally accepted, so that I will call attention to only one phase, the last mentioned.

Outside of the proposition outlined under the currency system, the best thing I have heard regarding the purchase is that the Government could borrow money at three per cent. interest, thereby saving the people from two to three per cent. My proposition saves the people this other three per cent. or a total of five to six per cent., and in the working out of the graded and inheritance taxes would, in addition, save a large part of the principal. Under the credit system, we will remember, it is only what is used

that costs the people, while under our present system we slave that the idle rich may gloat over unused wealth, and it is the unused that costs us the most.

The question of valuation at the time of purchase, I shall be glad to take up when the time comes.

COMMERCIALISM, LABOR, AND THE UNEMPLOYED

EVERYONE will concede that there should be no class of unemployed, but there are those who are so uninformed as to believe the trouble lies with the individual. This has already been answered by the various non-Socialistic writers already quoted by me. Furthermore, I will say that it is impossible not to have such a class under our present system. It is absolutely impossible for a few to draw from the many, through the combination of profit, interest and rent; or, in other words, it is impossible that the many producers and those willing to help, combined, shall receive less than sufficient to buy the things produced, aside from such portion as the other class (the rich non-producers) is able to use itself, without producing a poverty-stricken class.

There are various ways in which this poverty class may be divided, depending upon the manner of letting out the work. They may all be in distress, if the work is equally divided, or, if the rule of first come or of employing only the most efficient is followed, some may be quite well-to-do while others

will be absolute paupers. In any case there is bound to be an oversupply, so called. This is not a real oversupply, as the laborers and the unemployed could use all and would be glad to do so, and would be glad to assist in refilling the storehouses; but the capitalists have all they can use, the workers have all they can buy, the unemployed must draw in some way from the other classes, either through charity or by begging or stealing, if they are to live at all. There is no way provided for distribution except with cash, no matter how willing the applicant may be, except through charity or semi-charity.

The system is abominable. There is no way of telling whether a beggar deserves pity or help. If we go to the bottom of things we shall find they all need both.

Now, Socialism or Nationalism provides a system which shall absolutely provide work for all who wish, not after asking twice, but just once. This can be accomplished only by collective action.

It is self-evident that if we produce enough food, clothing and houses for all the people, there will surely be enough for them all. And again, if, in the production of these things, we employ all who want to work, there will be no class of unemployed who want to work. And, axiom No. 3, if, in the employment, wage is given in proportion to the product,

each will receive his proportion. While this is so simple as to seem foolish to talk about, it is not realized, else our condition would not be tolerated.

To illustrate: If it required 1,000 hours per day to do all the work in the country and there were only 100 people to do the work, it would require 10 hours per day per person, but if there were 200, it would require 5 hours, and if there were 500, then 2 hours would be sufficient. And as in either case we produce all that is required, there is no reduction in wage. The addition of a few million men more or less makes absolutely no difference as long as the land and natural resources hold out, where all do their share.

If, as will undoubtedly be found, we can produce sufficient for our needs in four or five hours per day, and there are those who desire to work longer, there will be many ways in which we can utilize labor. We can increase our teaching force, build better homes, roads, etc. There is always a demand for better things and we shall follow up improvements according to our ability and desire to work.

Regarding the amount of wage: I do not believe in equality of wage, for equality of wage would mean, at least, equality of effort, and to demand equality of effort would be paternalism in the extreme. Some are contented with little and would

not care to render service in excess of their demands, while others desire much and are willing and able to render much service.

On the other hand, I do not believe in extremes of wage. Not only do large salaries take from the people, but they encourage extravagance and this extravagance extends on and on through Congress down to the bottom.

A maximum wage is nearly as essential as a minimum, although if the high wage was as subject to competition as is the low one, there would be no danger of the wage being too high.

Some time ago I read an article by Mr. Munsey in his magazine, in which he said:

"There is no system of economics that can give you both high wages and low cost of living."

My reply to this section of his article was as follows:

"The Divine Power, God, or Nature, has so ordered the world that by using only a small part of the means and intelligence given, we can grow, manufacture and distribute many fold. God has given us the high wage and low cost of living. It is the capitalists who have made this combination seem impossible, by taking from the people many times what they give in return. And this is augmented by our chaotic system of doing all kinds of work."

The wage question can be settled rightly only when the Government handles the whole proposition.

It is probable that there will be a gradual drawing together of the maximum and minimum wages. With the establishment of justice, the full wage, and employment to all, it will be seen that many of the labor troubles as we know them to-day will disappear.

As one studies these problems it is surprising to find how many things which are good for one person do a direct injury to somebody else. The trade school, for example: the thought of the parent and those who see from the boys' standpoint is, What a fine thing for the boys! But how about the men who have only one trade and are depending upon that trade for their daily bread? They live in constant fear of the trade school, as they do of the apprentice. Some blame the union for trying to limit the number of the latter, but it means life or death to these old hands.

Some complain because girls are taking the men's jobs, and girls complain that married women are taking theirs.

It is a fact that men who have worked for years in one place and given good satisfaction, are being laid off because boys can be hired at half-price.

The fellow at my side is my competitor. When work falls off, so that there is enough for only one, one of us must go. Each fellow looks with distrust on a new man. If we were working in a properly organized community, in which each was a part-owner as well as a co-worker, each would see in the other fellow one who was helping in the care of the community, one who was helping to carry the expense of teachers, managers, roads, and the sick and aged. Instead of trying to hold back the apprentice, we would be more apt to do as the Eskimo dogs when they find a comrade shirking; give him a nip. Humanly speaking, we would encourage him and show him how to be more efficient. It is a well-known fact that the laborer to-day, whether union or not, discourages speed, lest he "work himself out of a job." All these troubles are reversed under Nationalism; added efficiency and increased speed would cease to terrorize, for they would mean more individual, as well as national, wealth, and no lay-off. All would rejoice in apprentices, for they would bring the age for pensions earlier in life; and all the women who wanted to go into any line would be welcome—the more the merrier.

The criminal is a product of our society and system, a product of commercialism. He is usually unemployed. He is bred by us, fostered by us, and

finally supported by us. Diseased, sick and imprisoned, we let them out, sometimes, but we have no place for them. They must go begging individuals for jobs. They must lie in order to get them. If they are successful, it is not long before the truth comes out and they are discharged. For the State to provide work under commercialism would be considered an injustice both to and by labor and capital. They would say it would be placing a premium on wrong-doing and would be driving the non-convict to both pauperism and crime.

Under Nationalism convicts or ex-convicts might do as much as they could, without harm to anyone; in fact the convict should be made to contribute to the community, but the community should cease to manufacture criminals.

The street of the slum is the school for crime, but they tell us that the jails and prisons are the colleges where the finishing touches are put on, where for a slight offence a person is thrown in among hardened criminals and in a short time comes out as bad as any of them.

Since writing the above we have had this fact brought to our attention again by the case of the noted criminal Robinson, with a record of at least four murders. It was in jail where he was stimulated and taught, and where he resolved to enter

larger fields of crime. Jack Rose has a story worth listening to regarding commercialism as a factor in the production of criminals. Have you any plan for these fellows who have fallen, or any that will keep them from falling? We have.

FALSE IDEAS REGARDING COMMERCIALISM

FALSE ideas regarding commercialism have possession of the people. They talk of making business, of wealth made by trading, etc. Trading does not make wealth. It wastes that already made. True, some get rich through it, but the wealth never increases. It merely changes hands. Wealth increases through labor and natural growth. Trade is good to such extent as it enables exchange of commodities, not otherwise. Many believe that to transport goods from one place to another is a good thing, because, as they say, it furnishes employment.

Every day our newspapers put out articles against Socialism and government ownership which show no real conception of the proposition. Here is one of them, entitled "Job Making," referring to a certain election which hinged on the claim that 27 city employees were employed in loading a single tip-cart. It commented upon the tendency in cities and towns to hire the surplusage of labor, and closed with the query: "Under government ownership, how many hands would be required to tend a switchboard or brake a train?"

An opposite idea was advanced by a gentleman with a sarcastic smile, when he said: "They say the Government is going to take a naval holiday by building no battleships for a year, thereby saving some $10,000,000. And," said he, "I don't call this saving money. It may be in one way, but what are the fellows who would be furnished employment going to do? This work would put money in circulation and help business all around."

Now, both of these fellows were shortsighted. The one who wrote the "Job Making" article did not concern himself about what the surplusage of labor was going to do for a living, and the other was willing to do unnecessary work in order to furnish it with employment. Neither appeared to understand national scientific management, which would furnish all with employment at useful occupations. The same money or labor expended building the battleships would build 3,000 to 4,000 houses or would equip a long line of railroad.

Commercialism sends drummers from St. Louis to Boston to sell goods manufactured in the West, to be shipped, at great expense, to the East, while at the same time other drummers are leaving Boston with the same line of goods, made in the East, to be shipped to the West. It sends steamships here and there with goods which could be produced as well

in the purchasing country. Millions of tons of coal are being used up, burned up, wasted, on railroads and steamships, which should be put to better use or conserved for future generations. Commercialism uses every means to keep up immigration and emigration, that the steamship lines may make money. Mr. Hunter says: "Thousands of agents are working continually, among the Italians, inducing them to come to America." What care corporations of the effect either on the immigrant or on the United States?

Grocer No. 1 sends his teams and men for orders, grocer No. 2 follows, and possibly No. 3, with the butcher and the baker in close pursuit. Each spends from 5 to 20 minutes at each house, and somebody pays for all this waste.

COMMERCIALISM

AGAIN, commercialism demands capital. It goes to the widow and the orphan and to those who have worked hard to lay up something for their old age or for the education of their children or for business. It promises magnificent returns, but in 90 cases out of 100 hands out a gold brick. We look wise and say they should have used better judgment. This kind of talk is sickening, for we should understand it is all a gamble. Why should widows and orphans, carpenters and clerks, be called upon to judge concerning the value of a mining stock or of a railroad or a manufacturing enterprise? And even if they were able to judge, can they foretell what outside influence may at any time change the whole situation? It's a lottery at best and the system is a disgrace to the 20th century.

Commercialism takes the foreigner after he has arrived here and by the foulest means teaches him to drink whiskey, tells him he must use it if he is to work in the mines. It sells this poisonous stuff, making men into demons, and we lug them off to the jails at public expense, and wonder at the high cost of living.

It is responsible for child-labor, a problem in which many of us are interested, and one that it is difficult to handle state by state. A national law is necessary.

We are all interested in the child, in his well-being and how he shall be educated and what he shall do when the time comes. While we are looking after him, ought we to forget the others who are struggling against heavy odds all along the line?

INSURANCE AND PENSION

All our present methods add to the cost and give inferior results. Take the roundabout methods of fire insurance. There are agents and solicitors, going over the same ground, begging for business. If the insured overlooks a date of expiration he is liable to lose all. There are always those who are not insured at all and most frequently these are the ones who need it the most. And there is very little gained by this over the old way of rebuilding by the community save that the unfortunate was looked upon as an object of charity, and so considered himself, and in the case of large conflagrations a small community could not stand the loss. For these reasons we would not want to go back to the old way, but there is a way that cuts out the charity feeling, minimizes the cost, and in the case of the large conflagrations and great floods so distributes the loss that it is scarcely noticeable, and that is by spreading it out over the whole nation. Declare everyone insured. The assessed value shall be the

insured value. This would tend to regulate assessing. For both parties would be careful that the assessment should be neither too high nor too low. For if too high the owner would pay too high a tax and if too low he would lose in case of fire. And in the case of the Government the reasoning would be reversed.

Many of the houses would be owned by the Government and in such cases the Government would simply rebuild. It will be seen that in all cases it would be good business policy for the nation to have the best fire protection possible. Our present system is so mixed up—insurance companies, fire departments, fireproof buildings—that hardly anyone feels any great interest. When all these are under one head, we see the reason for highest efficiency and precautions

Life and accident insurance and old-age pensions would likewise be universal and would therefore do much for the removal of poverty. You may remember Mr. Hunter said: "Poverty is the fear of want." It is far better to have assistance as something due than to have it dealt out as charity.

I notice that policemen, army officers and others who are retired on half-pay, hold their heads high and are respected by all, as far as the pension is concerned. I also note that the fellows who get the

larger salaries and who might have saved while at work are the ones who get favored when retired, but those who do the real hard work, for the small wage, are retired without warning and without pension.

CONCLUSION

I MIGHT sum up the matter of our individual and national well-being by the application of certain parts of the twelfth chapter of St. Paul's First Epistles to the Corinthians, considering the whole nation as the human body.

V. 12. For as the body is one, and hath many members, * * * all the members of that one body, being many, are one body. * * *

V. 17. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing where were the smelling? * * * *

V. 19. And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. * * *

V. 25. That there should be no schism in the body; and the members should have the same care one for another.

V. 26. And whether one member suffer all the members suffer with it; or if one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it."

Every member works with and from the fountainhead, and that fountainhead sends out its rich,

red blood to every part. It goes by direct routes; there are no hit-or-miss methods. If we would be in individual and national good health, our productive and circulating system must be worked on the same lines, by direct routes and methods.

Individualism fails because it is one member warring against another.

The promulgation of Nationalism presents the grandest opportunity to the Christian who would use the lesson of the "Good Samaritan" or who would visit the sick or the imprisoned or who would clothe the naked. It is well to have the physician for those who have been poisoned by the milk or water supply, but it is very foolish to fail to look to the supply and have it purified.

After all, Nationalism is but a continuance of our present policies and past advances, and many of the arguments which are to-day used against it have been used against many of the other steps forward. The public school, the parcel post, the public streets, the abolition of slavery, the municipal ownership of lighting and water systems, inheritance and graded taxes, postal savings-banks, and even our tax system most commonly used (a fixed rate per thousand), all come from the recognition of the fact that society must be run for the well-being of all, that individualism leads to oppression and must

be continually readjusted in order to be tolerated at all.

What we propose is a deeper realization of the divine rights of humanity. We have been told about the divine rights of kings and of property. We now propose to try out the divine plan for humanity as a whole.

The following poem by Ella Wheeler Wilcox was clipped from *The Boston American* of recent date:

If you listen you will hear, from East to West,
Growing sounds of discontent and deep unrest.
It is just the progress-driven plough of God,
Tearing up the well-worn, custom-bounded sod,
Shaping out each old tradition-trodden track
Into furrows fertile, furrows rich and black.
Oh! what harvests they will yield
When they widen to a field!

They will widen, they will broaden, day by day,
As the progress-driven plough keeps on its way,
It will riddle all the ancient roads that lead
Into palaces of selfishness and greed.
It will tear away the almshouse and the slum
That the little homes and garden plots may come.
Yes! the gardens green and sweet
Shall replace the stony street!

Let the wise man hear the menace that is blent
In this ever-going sound of discontent.
Let him hear the rising clamor of the race
That the few shall yield the many larger space;
For the crucial hour is coming when the soil
Must be given to, or taken back, by toil.
Oh! that mighty plough of God—
Hear it breaking through the sod!

THE OPEN FORUM

In the foregoing chapters I have endeavored to be brief, that I might hold the reader's attention until he might have acquired some idea of the plans which, sooner or later, will be put into operation, not only in the nation but in the whole world.

It has been necessary to leave much unwritten, but I deemed it better to take up the points which readers might wish explained further, as in an open forum.

I have taken such questions as are often asked, but, without doubt, there are many more the reader would like explained, and I should be pleased to receive either questions or criticisms and will, as far as I am able, answer such, either by mail or in subsequent issues, or both.

Yours very earnestly,

EDWIN GILMORE RICHARDS,
Sharon, Massachusetts.

PART II

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QUESTION NO. 1

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO WITH THE FELLOW WHO WILL NOT WORK?

We realize it is almost impossible to regenerate the degenerate, and while, even for that work, we believe we have the most effective remedy, we are careful not to claim too much. Our proposition is more to prevent degeneracy than to cure it. Still, an empty stomach is a mighty factor toward stimulating effort. And when work may be had for the asking, and is not too strenuous nor the hours too long, there are few, even among the degenerate, who will prefer to starve.

Nationalism does not concern itself about the drone other than that he shall render sufficient service to insure the Government against loss in the case of accident, old age or infirmity, and that he shall reimburse for service rendered to him during childhood, or, in other words, he must render the minimum tax or service for the support of the necessities of the community, during the years of his strength, I see no justice in allowing him to escape this duty.

Other countries compel a certain amount of war service. It is certainly an injustice to others, if some do less than their part.

I do not think there will be much need of force in the matter, but we should insist on service. We propose to look after the sick and the maimed and the aged, but we do not intend to be imposed upon by any individual. Of one thing we are quite certain—present society has not solved the problem.

The drone, the vagrant, the drunkard and the criminal are all products of our society. The cry of the child is: What shall I do next? When society poisons the soul and mind of this child, the child becomes diseased. Society then punishes the victim. When we have improved society enough, we shall have less trouble with the individual.

QUESTION NO. 2

WOULD NOT SOCIALISM HAVE A TENDENCY TO DESTROY THE HOME?

Socialism is the great home-builder, the great home-purifier, the great home-sustainer. It is "when poverty comes in at the door" that "love flies out of the window." To-day love seldom gets inside the door; poverty runs on before, ever guarding the entrance.

I am not recommending marriage at sweet sixteen, or even at eighteen, but I do know that under civilization, homes could be started early in life, homes would be maintained, and homes would be happy; ten of them where there is one to-day.

With every child looked upon as an asset (or as a liability) by the community, consequently every child receiving sufficient for its well-being, why shouldn't the home be happy?

But, you ask: Would you pension the children? Would you help parents support them? And I ask: Why not? Was not this same question debated when they proposed free public schools? Who

usually reaps the benefit of the children when they are grown? Many of the parents have passed on, and few of the balance receive help directly from their children. No! Either for good or for evil, it is the community. And what crime have parents committed that they should not only bear the agony, care and worry, but should provide money, while others, free from all these things, seek only their own pleasure? Certainly those who are free from the former things should do their part in some other way, else the burden of life is not justly distributed.

Again you say, the country would be flooded with children if you make it so easy to bring them up. I am not claiming it will be such an easy task to bring up children; it will be easier; one big drawback will be eliminated. As for the quantity of children, we find out it works the other way. Poverty is the great child-bearer. The middle class and the rich barely hold their own.

The destroyer of the home is now on every hand; at the present moment he is in all the European nations, at war with one another. He is here in the white slave traffic, the saloon, the house of ill fame, and in the factory; he is in the tuberculosis germ.

Money, or the lack of it, is at the bottom of most of our social evils. Why divorce? Often because of inability to make both ends meet. Individualism,

commercialism, competition, interest, profit, rent, unemployment, and a low wage; these are the things which destroy and prevent the homes. And it is the business of Socialism to annihilate these destroyers.

QUESTION NO. 3

WOULD THERE BE ANY OPPORTUNITY TO LOAN MONEY AT INTEREST?

THAT would depend on how far the Government goes in the matter of loaning money. Probably there will be no law against taking interest and none needed, for if the Government loans, on good security or character, as it probably will, at a very low rate, or with no interest charge whatever, the matter will adjust itself.

Interest is not a good thing as a whole. It is the great drone-maker on the one hand and the oppressor on the other. It perpetuates generation after generation of drones who live upon generation after generation of service-renderers. All over the world, millions are now slaving to pay interest on war debts, many generations old. These wars were brought about by the capitalistic class, paid for by the blood of the working class, who are still paying the debt to that class which should be paying them.

All these debts should be immediately paid. The money should all be collected by graded tax, ex-

empting estates of less than $50,000. It might increase at the rate of 1 per cent each $50,000; as $50,000, 1 per cent; $100,000, 2 per cent; $150,000, 3 per cent; and run to 50 per cent. It might be best to divide the debt into several payments so as to let the effect of the income from the payments come under the later assessments. By this method there would be no tax on the man of small means, and the rich would still be overburdened with wealth. The great burden of the debt would be taken at once from the backs of the people, and at the same time we should drive a big nail into the coffin of future wars, for the rich would see that the financing must be borne by them to an extent they would not endure.

QUESTION NO. 4

IS NOT THE PERSON WHO FURNISHES ANOTHER WITH TOOLS WHEREBY HE CAN GREATLY INCREASE HIS OUTPUT, ENTITLED TO SOMETHING FOR THE USE OF THE TOOLS?

THE person who furnishes another with a tool is entitled to something for its use just as much as the man who used to own the streets was entitled to toll, or the private schoolteacher is entitled to his pay, but the question arises: How long are we willing to endure the disadvantages of privately-owned roads, schools, libraries, water works, electric and gas service? And further: How long shall we be willing to endure the extra cost and disadvantages of privately owned factories, railroads, tools, mines and slaughter-houses? It is a question of life and death to many. When these matters are in the hands of private parties, the people suffer unemployment, poverty and starvation. Co-operative ownership means universal employment and plenty. The many have more right to save the interest charges than the few to extort them. It is wiser that the people own the tools than that they hire them of a few.

QUESTION NO. 5

IF WE CANNOT GET INTEREST WHAT CAN WE DO WITH OUR MONEY?

ANYBODY can let his money stay to his credit, thereby saving all danger of loss through bad investments. There are vastly more people who suffer from trying to increase their wealth, through the various means offered, than profit thereby. Investing money has always caused much unhappiness. Who is there but lives in constant fear of poverty? The fear of failure stares even the wealthy in the face. A $30,000,000-failure this week; a millionaire last; a large concern of many years' standing, head partner no assets.

Interest must eventually come out of the under dog. It's bad sport to lay an extra burden on the smaller horse. We ought not to preach Christianity and then add to the already heavy burden of the weak.

QUESTION NO. 6

WOULD THE NATION CARRY ON THE LIQUOR BUSINESS?

CERTAINLY the liquor business is one of the most important things to take out of the hands of individuals. It is one of the great factors for corrupting the ballot box and politics in general. With the Government running the liquor business there would be no temptation to increase the business or to sell inferior liquors. There is no telling how long the liquor business as it is known to-day will continue, but if it does, it should be run exclusively by the Government, Nationalism or not.

When there is no individual receiving profit from the business, when recreation grounds and rooms are on every hand, and experimental trade shops, with tools, are open and free to all, the demand for liquor will rapidly decrease. Many men drink because they have nothing better with which to pass away time. We must cut out our present commercial system before we can make any great advance along this or any other line.

QUESTION NO. 7

WOULD THOSE WHO ARE NOW RICH BE OBLIGED TO GO TO WORK?

PERSONALLY, I am letting the rich down very easily, not because it is just, but because it will be less of a jolt. I admit there is no justice in allowing rich drones to live without work, simply because they have always been rich drones. At the same time, I feel that we shall avoid a great deal of trouble and bitterness by this method, and after all it will not matter much, with the right money system. So I am proposing to give all the rich as well as the poor credit for all property purchased or taken, although at the same time I propose a sharply graded tax which will rapidly reduce swollen fortunes and eventually eliminate the rich drones. The limits and grades will be fixed according to the sentiment of the people, from time to time.

QUESTION NO. 8

WOULD THERE NOT BE TOO MUCH PATERNALISM? WOULD EVERYONE WORK FOR THE GOVERNMENT?

ONLY those who chose would be direct employees of the Government. But those who worked independently would of necessity be service-renderers, because of Government competition. An independent concern would be obliged to satisfy both customers and help; hence, as good wages, light, air, and as short hours; and on the other hand, it would be obliged to sell as low as the Government. If it is true, as claimed by some, that private concerns can do better than the Government, they will have a chance to prove their ability and the truth of the assertion. Moreover, it is my plan that the Government shall do all in its power to assist them just as much as though they were directly under government management, providing all things to them at cost prices, and taking their output as though it were government made. The amount of paternalism depends on the amount of patriotism and com-

mon sense we put into the ballot box. If we have sense enough to demand laws for our own well-being, we can get them. If we let the rich and the lawyers draft them, we may have plenty of paternalism. It's all up to the people. The main feature of the Government should be real fatherliness, a real, genuine and hearty concern for the welfare of all, and it's up to the voters to make it so.

QUESTION NO. 9

WOULD THE GOVERNMENT HIRE MARRIED WOMEN?

THE Government would hire all who wish to work, regardless of sex, color or matrimony. While there is truth in the talk, to-day, that married women are keeping wages from the single ones (they may need it as much or more), and that the single ones are taking men's jobs, and that the apprentices are driving the old hands out, it is all because of our unorganized system and limited currency. When we are all working for use only, and into the general storehouse or reservoir, there can be no oversupply of labor, for if there was a tendency in that direction there would be a reduction in the hours of labor, but not in wage; or, if we prefer, we may build better houses and have more luxuries.

The apprentice, the single girl or the married woman, or even the foreigner, as well as the labor-saving machine, would all be considered real helpers and be welcomed by fellow-workers.

QUESTION NO. 10

WOULD NOT SOCIALISM DISCOURAGE AMBITION?

THERE is nothing in the proposition to discourage any one, except the grafters. What incentive is there, to-day, for any one to go into business with the enormous percentage of failures? To attempt to compete to-day is almost foolhardiness. The big men know it, hence the trusts. What incentive for a young man to go into any line when he knows the chances are all against him? Nationalism offers the best possible — success sufficient to all who try, abundance for good work, and ultra-abundance for extraordinary service.

There is our patent system, to-day. It does not do what it is supposed to do. It discourages rather than encourages inventions. It is the financier, not the inventor, who gets the benefit. Under Nationalism the inventor would be paid either outright for his ideas or by an annuity, and he would not have to finance the proposition.

In all lines the greater the service the greater the wage. This cannot be done to-day as we have limited production, but then, when we are working together, cooperatively, incentives can be thrown out in every direction.

QUESTION NO. 11

OUGHT WE NOT TO ENCOURAGE MEN TO USE THEIR BRAINS?

CERTAINLY we should encourage men to use their brains—in the right way—for the public good. To-day they are encouraged to use them in the wrong way, for their own selfish purposes, regardless of the well-being of others. To-day men get rich by tricks, by corrupting legislatures, by taking advantage of the weak, by stock and other gambling. At the same time, others with just as good brains but either with higher principles or without the opportunities, strive on and on until they give up in despair.

Most of our great men have attained their wealth by financing this or that undertaking. We shall have no further use for this kind of financing, and why should we pay millions as we do to-day for work which men would do better for hundreds and consider themselves well-paid?

Yes, we ought to offer plenty of inducement for brains used for our well-being, but not when used for our destruction.

QUESTION NO. 12

WOULD THERE BE LESS CRIME UNDER SOCIALISM?

It is very evident to me that with the great causes for crime removed there would be less of it. I am fully aware that there are other causes for crime besides poverty and unemployment. Churches, reformers and parents will always have plenty of work to keep passion and lust and even love within bounds.

Apart from the removal of the above-mentioned causes, much may be done in the manner of handling criminals. Our penal institutions are nurseries of crime. When a young person is sent to jail for a small offence, he is brought under the influence of hardened criminals who instruct him in the art of crime. The prisons should be reformatories, educational institutions, where diseased society is trained in the art of doing useful work. And further, when these students graduate, they should be assured good jobs at good salaries. Our present capitalistic system forbids this. Employer and laborer both claim this would be taking work away

from them and would actually be driving the non-convict into paths of vice. Both are quite right, but only under, and on account of, our individualism. If we were all owners of the reservoir or storehouse and convicts kept it full, we should not worry, although we might pity the convicts.

Another cause for crime is intemperance. Poverty is the cause of the slum and both are causes for intemperance. Intemperance hastens the inevitable descent to poverty and the slum, caused by our commercialism. When commercialism (trading and production for profit) has given way to production and distribution for use only, there will be less and less intemperance, hence less and less crime. And further, with the monster commercialism out of the way, it will be possible to establish other avenues to take the place of that longing to do something which is too often filled by liquor, crime and lust. Workshops, with tools, where men and boys can go and pass their time, trade-schools of all sorts, music-rooms, lecture-rooms, libraries and reading-rooms, all will be more than possible out of the great economic saving of scientific management.

QUESTION NO. 13

WOULD YOU FAVOR NATIONALIZING THE RAILROADS IF WE WENT NO FARTHER?

THIS could mean simply government ownership of the railroads. Without the proposed currency system and with no provision for universal employment, we should derive only a small part of the advantages of the complete system. Even so, we should be far better off than with our present capitalistic ownership.

Moreover, we do not expect Nationalism to come all at once, so we should favor any section as a step toward the inevitable.

QUESTION NO. 14

CANNOT BUSINESS BE RUN MORE CHEAPLY AND BETTER BY FIRMS AND INDIVIDUALS?

ALL things considered, I believe it costs three times as much to run the business of the nation as it would under Nationalism. Developments of the last few years tend to show that the time is at hand when big business cannot be run at all by private concerns. The moment they cannot draw new capital from the people, they are down and out. When has the graft of government officials equalled that of railroad and mine officials? The difference is that we are able to find out about the former, but the latter have been able to cover their tracks; $5,000-men on $75,000-salaries, because they can be worked to work the people, not because they can render the public better service.

If there was no other item than that of borrowing money, it would be sufficient to make an enormous saving.

An enormous amount of our earnings goes to foreign countries. The Government would stop this drain at once.

Even if it were possible for the private concern to run business more cheaply, it would be only at the expense of labor. The private concern cannot agree to hire at the maximum wage all who apply.

QUESTION NO. 15

WOULD THE GOVERNMENT GRANT PATENTS?

No. It would pay outright for ideas and discoveries.

The granting of patents, exclusive rights, is bad for the average inventor and for the public. The former seldom gets much out of his invention, the latter sometimes gets no benefit at all, and always pays a high price. If there is anything in it at all, it goes to the capitalists, the ones already overburdened with wealth.

The Government could afford to be liberal with inventors, because the people would be directly benefited, and because, with the credit system, the cost is distributed over the time it takes to use up the credit and is only such part of the credit as is actually used.

It would be possible for the Government to buy at any stage of the invention. Often a person might have made a good start, but might be unable to work out a successful completion, while another who might never have thought of the start would be able to finish it. Our present system does not provide for this.

QUESTION NO. 16

WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO GET PEOPLE TO WORK ON THE FARMS?

THERE are always a few people who see only one thing at a time, who ask this question, having an idea that people want to live in squalor. These people should be reminded that men will do almost anything if there is sufficient incentive. They even go to war, they go down into the mines, where the conditions are none too good. They go where almost certain death awaits them. The farm is a paradise compared with other things where there is no trouble getting help. But the farm can be made more attractive. The average farmer to-day is up against it himself, working without sufficient capital, with old-fashioned tools, and by out-of-date methods; consequently the proposition he hands out to the farm laborer is not very enticing.

A government, well-equipped, with up-to-date methods and tools, would change the proposition entirely, and if this was not enough, other incentives might be introduced, and finally the wage would settle the problem.

QUESTION NO. 17

IS NOT EXTRAVAGANCE THE MAIN CAUSE FOR THE HIGH COST OF LIVING?

I AM well aware that there are those who believe that we should reverse the phrase and make it "the cost of high living." It is true that extravagance has much to do with the condition of many. At the same time there are thousands who have never had anything to be extravagant with, and even with those more fortunate it is not the case in point, but the case in point would have much to do with the doing away with extravagance, for our whole system encourages it.

Merchants strive by all means to induce people to buy. People buy what they do not need "to help others out," as they say. The rich set an example of extravagance, and down through the grades wives, children and sweethearts are asking: Why cannot we have these things? Each feels he or she must have as good as the rest or be cast aside.

When there are none teasing to sell goods, when to use goods means we are adding to work, and

every one is a service renderer, when people cannot live at the expense of others, the great factors which are encouraging extravagance will be removed. The thousand-dollar gown of to-day will be divided into many beautiful, serviceable ones. Nationalism will take care of many side lines as well as the main one.

QUESTION NO. 18

IS NOT POVERTY DUE LARGELY TO THE INDIVIDUAL?

As in all cases the individual is due to society, it may be misleading to answer the question directly. If we are to overlook the causes which have led up to the individual as he stands to-day, there is no question but that the individual is in some cases responsible for his poverty, but in far more cases, I believe, his condition is beyond his control.

Our proposition goes to the bottom of the matter, for we understand full well that the men who are strong to-day can be duplicated by the boys of to-morrow. It is Socialism that grasps the whole problem broadly and understandingly. It does not hesitate because there are some shiftless people mixed in with the deserving poor, but rather, takes the course that will cure both diseases.

Others, with different remedies, or with none at all, have given much study to the conditions and problems of the poor, and whatever may be their suggestions regarding the matter, I find they all testify to the fact that the poor, as a rule, are hon-

est and hard working, and that their poverty is due to circumstances practically beyond their control, and that the few who do pull out are exceptions—Napoleons—or else are favored with some unusual circumstance or special environment. Mr. H. H. Lush in "The Social Life of New Zealand," Mr. Robert Hunter in "Poverty," Mr. Henry George in "Progress and Poverty," Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D., in "The Challenge of the City," and many others, all testify that the individual is largely due to society.

QUESTION NO. 19

IS NOT INTEMPERANCE A GREAT CAUSE OF POVERTY?

It is, but poverty is a great cause of intemperance. The two go hand in hand through the slums to the jails and the asylums. Getting down to the first causes, we shall find commercialism and a bad money system. But the profit out of the liquor business and how long would it survive? When we have drowned that great monster commercialism we shall find it much easier to handle the liquor problem.

QUESTION NO. 20

WOULD COLLEGE EDUCATION BE EXTENDED TO ALL?

I BELIEVE it would be extended to all who wanted it. But I believe the common schools would give all that would be required for the great majority. I believe the schools and colleges will specialize more, teaching each pupil along lines in which he is most interested.

When business is systematized, the requirements and needs will show the lines, from time to time, which need more recruits, and the difference in the pay will be made sufficient to encourage the extra effort. If the wage of the college graduate is not enough to pay for the effort, people will not make it. On the other hand, if it is too much, there will be an oversupply and the wage would have to be dropped. The demand for the position is a good regulator of the wage when business is run nationally, and every position is open to all applicants, but it is a terrible thing under our present system.

I believe all school work should be supplemented by a certain amount of manual work as well as service of a mental nature. This work should be paid

for in wages or credited on tuition. I do not propose to carry people through college with no service rendering on their part. It is not healthy for anyone to grow up unaccustomed to work. It is natural to want to be remunerated for work. And it is a good thing to feel that one is earning his own education to a certain extent, at least.

The school programme should be worked out in such a manner as to add efficiency and decrease expense. Students can be used to assist in tutoring, thereby assisting the community, the other scholars, and adding to their own strength.

Roger W. Babson, in "The Future of the Working Class," says: "To-day the boys and girls of our lands are first given ten or more years of all school and no work. This abruptly is brought to an end, and in a day another period is substituted therefor, of many more years of all work and no school. This is unreasonable, unscientific, if not brutal, and is the fundamental cause of the present school system being a failure. The present system of education is like feeding a man on all vegetables for ten years and then on all meat for another ten years."

QUESTION NO. 21

WOULD THERE BE ANY MORE LABOR TROUBLES? ARE THE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS TO-DAY DOING GOOD?

I BELIEVE labor troubles as we know them to-day would pass away, but I do not expect people are going to be satisfied, that they are not going to complain. It is well that it should be so. Every trade, every profession, should be alert for its own advancement and well-being. As for the labor organizations of to-day, I feel their work is too much of the nature of lifting oneself by one's boot straps. Mr. Munsey stated some time ago in his magazine, that you cannot have high wages and low cost of living, which is true as long as our present system continues. He also stated that there is no man nor any political party which can give you both a high wage and a low cost of living, and this is very untrue, because a political party can, if in power, change the whole system and give us God's, which is much for little effort.

God's system of a high wage and a low cost of

living has been temporarily overthrown by greed and ignorance. Labor organizations should dig deeper and realize the uselessness of raising wages under our present systems which allows the product to advance also. The organizations do not solve the problem of the unemployed, and this is a serious thing in itself.

The full wage, short hours, old-age pensions, guaranteed employment, shifts of work, good light, pure air, and safeguards will do much to satisfy men. It is really only under great provocation that men are violent.

The trouble is we have not been trying to solve the problem. We have been trying to avoid it.

QUESTION NO. 22

HOW WOULD THE HOURS OF LABOR BE REGULATED?

THIS question has been answered to a certain extent on page 45.

The hours of labor would be regulated by the individual himself, to a large extent. Some would work five hours and others would prefer to work twelve. There is absolutely no reason why each should not do as he chose. The five hours would furnish the one with all his needs, including his insurance, and the twelve hours would be taking work from no one, but would, instead, be adding to the wealth of all.

My statement in "Nationalism 1910" was as follows:

Labor; make what is needed.

Wages; that which is made.

Hours of labor; the time which it takes.

Under Nationalism, the long-hour man, the married woman or any of those of whom we say: "They are taking the jobs from the needy," would, in reality, be helping the other fellow, adding to his

wealth, as by the credit-money system and Nationalism combined, production immediately goes to the people, but the actual expense of it is borne only when the credit is taken up. If it is never taken up, it is a free gift to the community.

Our present system has reached a very acute state, so that for one to work hard, or long hours, or to work at all if he has a few thousand dollars, brings down the contempt of his fellow-workers. The tendency of the times is to make the job last. This is bad for the ambition and well-being of the worker, bad for the employer, and especially bad for the one who is paying for the job.

I am told that, in the laying of shingles, wages are three times as high as they were forty years ago, and that it is harder to get one thousand laid to-day than it was to get twenty-five hundred laid then. This would show that it costs seven and one-half times as much for the laying as formerly. The whole expense of shingling has not increased that much, for the shingles are no higher.

Socialism will bring back the old-time enthusiasm without its hardships.

QUESTION NO. 23

OUGHT WE NOT TO HAVE GOLD OR SOMETHING BESIDES THE SAY SO OF THE GOVERNMENT BACK OF OUR CURRENCY?

Most assuredly, but nothing so worthless, so purely psychological, so wasteful and so barbaric as gold. Such a standard not only adds to the cost of living, but teaches wrong ideas regarding values and service, so that the world is striving for gold, for wealth, instead of being taught to render service for a just reward.

There should be no standard of value save labor. If $20 in gold does not represent $20 in labor there has been injustice to some one.

The time spent digging gold might have been better spent in many ways. Houses might have been built, clothing made, gardens planted and taken care of.

Roger W. Babson, a non-Socialist, writes in "The Future of the Working Class": "History shows that gold collected by hoarding has never availed much in long wars. Rome, Venice and

Florence all fell when their gold supply was the greatest. The decline of Spain began when the people left her soil to work the gold mines in Mexico. Prosperity which comes through increasing the capacity of the reservoir (that is, through increasing knowledge, building factories, railroads, houses, etc.) sticks, but all other forms are delusions."

The standard of value should be a certain amount of physical labor. There is no certainty that this price will always prevail, there is no reason why it should. It is absolute folly to try to keep values the same, all the time. But prices have a tendency to keep steady, owing to the great variety of them.

We might start with any given amount of definite labor as a standard of the dollar, such as the loading of a certain amount of coal. At the time of making this the standard we might be able to find plenty of help at that price, while in a year we might have to pay $1.25 for the same labor and we might be able to hire other work done for less than was paid the year before. This is as it should be and as it must be. To set a fixed price on anything for all time would be absurd.

In regard to having something of value back of money, it is and always will be the integrity of the Government that counts. Billions of gold without it count for nothing and no gold but the vast resources

of the country, together with our national honor, counts for all possible.

In times of war there is no knowing what will happen, but one thing is certain; there is very little danger of accounts being seized by opposing armies or carried to the bottom of the ocean, as the millions of gold currency may be. Any system may and will be abused if opportunity offers. Citizens, returning just as the European war was breaking out, report they were forced to pay $50 in gold for service usually worth twenty-five cents.

If foreign nations are willing to take gold it might be well to let them have it all, thereby saving our real wealth—cattle, wheat, etc., for our own use.

Money should show a simple record of service rendered and received. It should cost the least possible for the correct performance of the task. To pay $20 for a record which could be obtained for two cents means a loss of $19.98.

Again, production should be limited only by the ability and willingness of the people, not by a money supply. Going back to our ledger example, could anything be more absurd than for laborers to be refused work because the pages of the ledger were used up? Would we not add leaves and let the exchange of service go on?

QUESTION NO. 24

WOULD THERE BE ANY STOCK EXCHANGE?

HERE, again, we have another business which should be run exclusively by the Government, if it is to be run at all. After a while it is quite likely there will be no call for one, as the Government would own the mines, railroads, etc. But to-day and in the coming transitional period the Government should act as go-between for those who actually have stock to sell and those who wish to buy. This would be very different from the present gambling institution which goes under the cloak "The Stock Exchange." The business as it is carried on to-day is a disgrace to the nation and to the world. Even at the best possible, it would be an unnecessary gamble. These problems of the mines and the railroads should not be borne by small numbers nor their profits kept by them. They should be for the whole nation and the expense of operating them should also be divided among all the people.

When thus divided, the prospect which proves poor causes no noticeable harm. If borne by a few,

it causes suffering, but when this loss is enhanced by artificial means, by stock jobbing, by false representations, by washed or faked sales, it has gone the limit.

The stock exchange is probably the second worse corruptor of morals in the country. It is one of three great cancers eating the life out of the nation.

QUESTION NO. 25

ARE NOT SOCIALISTS AS A RULE ATHEISTIC AND MATERIALISTIC?

It may be true that Socialists find the present evils and future possibilities of this world sufficient for their activities and are not overanxious concerning the hereafter, having sufficient faith in the Maker to leave the hereafter in His hands. Nor are they without Scripture to uphold them in this position. It is not absolutely necessary for one to believe in a future life in order to be spiritual, and one may have the utmost faith in a future life and be very materialistic. But it is necessary for one to be altruistic in order to be spiritual.

The real difference: spirituality—the desire that others may be blessed with good things; materialism—the desire that self may be blessed with good things.

The new birth which Jesus taught was nothing save the casting off of selfishness, and the taking on of heavy, vivid and brotherly concern.

It is easy enough to have faith in a far away,

paradise, a happy hunting ground, a celestial city, but have you enough faith in your God to see this world of His transformed in a hundred, fifty, or ten years? Christian, is your faith equal to this test? The Socialist's is.

The following from Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D., may start somebody in a grander line of thought:

"The common conception of religion which fixes attention on heaven as the great desideratum, which makes this life simply a probation, and the 'salvation of the soul' its great business, is entirely foreign to the teaching of Jesus. And the misconception is due to having forgotten or misconceived the kingdom of God—to having lost sight of the fact that the great burden of Christ's preaching was an ideal world."

QUESTION NO. 26

WOULD NOT EVERYTHING BE ALL RIGHT UNDER OUR PRESENT SYSTEM, IF WE FOLLOWED THE GOLDEN RULE?

If we followed the Golden Rule we could not have the present system. But to follow it in the sense that is meant when one asks this question might make a disorder even worse than our present. Honest people have different remedies for certain misdemeanors. One thinks corporeal punishment necessary while another would use moral suasion. The Golden Rule has been used on both sides of the same war. Our present war should teach us that we must have definite rules of action laid down if we expect wars to be discontinued. The Golden Rule is a fine thing, but something more is needed to bring about a desirable social system.

"How do you mix your paints?"

"With brains, sir."

The Golden Rule must be mixed with brains. We must get rid of a lot of false ideas concerning money and its use, capital, interest, profit, land ownership,

etc., or we can follow the Golden Rule to our destruction. Let the blind lead the blind and both may fall into the ditch though they both have the kindliest intentions. But let in the light and they will walk in peace and joy. Take the Golden Rule, mix with economic truth, and we may bring in a kingdom of joy, peace and plenty on earth.

QUESTION NO. 27

SHOULD THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AS A CHURCH TAKE ANY PART IN ITS COMING?

We might as well ask: Should it take any part in the coming of the kingdom of God on earth? The great concern of Jesus was for the people right here on earth. He used the best means at his command to relieve them of their suffering. His parables of heaven were used to persuade man to live right and do right on earth.

As disciples, the Church must follow, but the responsibility of to-day is tremendous, for the means at our command and the power of the common people are very different from the time of Christ.

If the Church has a particle of the spirit of the Good Samaritan, it cannot pass by on the other side of this great social question, as did the priest and the Levite, thinking the Temple worship of more account than rendering service to the sufferer. And if the Church does cross over and examine the wounds of society to-day, if it is half as much concerned for the children of others as for its own, if

it used half the brain-effort it does in its own daily business, there could be no question of the result—the remedy is too apparent.

Every avenue of church and city and slum work brings out the same report: "We can do, oh, so little, in comparison with the needs." The rescue missions, the children's homes, the temperance leagues, the consumers' leagues, are all unable to cope with the situation.

Shall the Church allow the cross to be borne only by those outside its membership? Shall it be said, in that day: "I was enhungered, I was sick and in prison and ye visited me not?"

. . . . . .

"And he said unto him a third time—Feed my sheep."

WAR EXTRA

As I close, the great, so-called Christian, nations of Europe are rushing at each other with all the diabolical implements of torture, death and destruction.

In referring to our present state of society I have used the word "barbaric." The word may have seemed out of place and harsh to some, but in the light of the present war, it appears weak and inadequate.

What will be the outcome of this fiendish outburst no one can foretell, but it surely presents food for thought. We might observe first, that these nations have been preparing for war for years, and that without these preparations no such slaughter would be possible; that instead of agreeing to settle all international disputes by an international court, they have made rules for war. They have agreed to do so and so before declaring war.

It was not many years ago that individuals thought honor must be defended by duels. Nations still murder at wholesale to defend national honor, but the principals are very careful to keep personally

out of danger. We are willing to murder thousands of human beings because a soldier has been imprisoned or our flag dishonored, where we might have shown kindness and had it honored. We have one rule for the individual and another for the nation.

Apart from the question of honor, we find other causes for this terrible anti-Socialistic state of affairs. We find too much of the spirit of conquest, too much of the gaming instinct. Especially do we find commercialism, capitalism and national competition back of the whole infernal thing. Go to Mexico and find who are sapping the wealth and life of the people. This commerce for profit leads in the march to "hell."

Apart from the distress among the soldiers and their families and the suffering of the citizens of the countries at war, there are some thoughts for us here at home. With the war in its very infancy, wheat, flour and many other things began to jump in price. The cost of sugar almost doubled in a fortnight. Yet we had an enormous crop of wheat, unprecedented. The stock exchange has been closed for weeks. The business situation is unsettled. Now, if the Government, instead of individuals and speculators, owned and produced these things for use, there would be no advance in prices

to our own people, and if there was any to other countries, the profit would go to the whole of the people. If the world was Socialized there would be no war. In the matter of sugar, we are at the mercy of commerce and individuals who in turn are at the mercy of shifting tariff laws and home and foreign competition.

Under Nationalism we would be producing enough for all our needs, so that the shipping question would have no effect on us at all. Nationalism means security even in war (provided we keep out of war ourselves). World-wide Socialism means the end of all war.

As we gather up the dead and the wounded, as we pay the war prices and the pensions and the war debts, may we remember that Socialism stands solidly against all war, and moreover that it will do away with the causes which lead to this brutish method of settling disputes and preserving "national honor."

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